

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

LETTER XV.

*Risings in England.—The Reverend Sir Bate's victory over the insurgents at Ely.—The Edinburgh School Project.—The Highland Society and Gaelic Tongue.—Emigration to America, the grand resource.*

Botley, June 1, 1816.

IN Letter XIII., dated 18th May, I gave you some account of the risings of the people, in several parts of *England*. So that, you see, the effects of the war are *come home* to us, at last; but, I imagine that the acts which I have recorded, in the Letter referred to, are but *beginnings*. They are mere risings of distressed working people; but, as contemplated in connexion with their *causes*, they are of great importance as instances to serve the wise politician as a guide. For this reason I shall record them in the daily detail of them, which is handed out to the public by the means of the press.

There are afloat all sorts of *projects*. The *Tithes* have been slightly assaulted; but, in so nonsensical a way, that the assault is hardly worth notice. Indeed, it is impossible to touch them directly, without a total abandonment of all idea of supporting a dominant Church. Yet, indirectly, late acts of parliament have set a *precedent*, according to which the whole property of the Church may be taken to the public use. These acts have, in fact, taken away from the incumbents, or possessors of livings, part of the produce of them, and have made a distribution of it amongst *curates*. Now, the living of a parson, or vicar, is his *freehold* in law. It would be regarded as a total breaking up of all property, if an act were passed to compel me, for instance, to give a fixed portion of the rent of my land to my bailiff, and to compel me to have a bailiff, and also to prevent me from turning him off. Here, therefore, is a distinction, and a very important distinction too, established by law, between the ownership

of Church property and that of lay property. *Advowsons*, or the ownership of livings, and the right of filling them up, are *real property*. They are *bought* and *sold* openly and legally. The late Duke of Norfolk had a great many, and he bought them as he would have bought any other estates in land. But, a *precedent* has now been settled, according to which livings are no longer to be considered as *private property*; but, as a species of property of which the parliament, without any violation of right, can dispose of in any manner that it pleases. Nevertheless, there are so many of the livings, which are the property of those who fill the seats in parliament, and so large a part of the Clergy are either the relations or dependants of the same persons, that you need never expect to see any thing effectual done about the *Tithes*, until the whole system draws towards a state of great peril.

By Mr. CURWEN, the same person who has broached the *Tithe* project, another of much greater magnitude has been *seriously* brought forward. I mean a project to *abolish pauperism*! I told you in a Note to page 426 of this Volume, that "this Mr. Curwen was a *curious sort of a man*." Pray look again at that note, and you will be prepared for what I shall hereafter have to relate to you as to this pauper-project. During the Debate for a Committee to sit upon this latter project (which Committee is *actually sitting*!) it was asserted, and on all hands assented to, that, *unless pauperism could be checked, this country must sink*; and, I have no scruple to assert, that pauperism will *not be checked*, but, on the contrary, will go on increasing at a greater rate than ever, unless the taxes be brought down from 70 to 40 millions a year; and, of course, *unless a great deduction be made from the dividends in the funds*.

Ay, here I am, then, brought back to the old point. At the end of *ten years*, during which time I have been called by all manner of vile names, for proposing a reduction of the dividends, I have, at last, heard it proposed in the House of

*Commons!* Not, indeed, by the Ministers, nor in a *formal* manner; but, I have heard one member boldly declare this to be *the only remedy* for the distresses of the country. This subject is, however, too large to be entered upon here; and, therefore, for the present, I will return to my promised detail of the *risings*, which the distresses have produced. You will see, that the risings have been in *several counties*; and you will particularly note the part which has been acted by the *Yeomanry Cavalry*, and by the celebrated "*Reverend Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Baronet*," whom I did myself the honour to introduce to you in so ceremonious a manner, in No. 3. of this volume, relating to you the whole history of his public life, and a curious and instructive history I am sure you will say it was. What do the Cossacks say to this *famous Priest*?

May 20.—"The Sheriff of Suffolk, and Mr. Willet, the banker, of Brandon, near Bury, arrived in town yesterday, at the Secretary of State's Office, express, with an account of the alarming state of the county, and to request the assistance of Government to restore tranquillity. The public have been for some time apprized of various outrages, committed in that county, in the breaking of threshing machines, and the destruction of barns, corn-stacks, &c. by fire, suspected to be wilful and malicious, the agents in which are presumed to be agricultural labourers, discontented because employment and advance of wages did not immediately follow the recent rise in the price of corn. These outrages were, however, only secret and isolated cases. It was not until the end of the week the discontent of the lower orders broke out into open and general disturbance.

"A reduction in the price of bread and meat was the avowed object of the rioters. They had fixed a *maximum* for the price of both. They insisted that the lowest price of wheat must be half a crown a bushel, and that of prime joints of beef four pence per pound. Mr. Willet, a butcher, at Brandon, was a marked object of their ill-will, in which Mr. Willet, the banker, was, from the similarity of his name, in danger of sharing. This circumstance, and a laudable anxiety to preserve the peace, induced him to

"take an active part, and exert all his influence to preserve the public peace. On Friday he remonstrated with them on the dangerous consequences of their proceedings, and promised that their demands should be complied with for a fortnight, which would afford time for the consideration of their grievances, and of the means of redress. The malecontents appeared satisfied with this assurance, gave Mr. Willet three cheers, and parted, after expressing a wish to chair him, which he declined. The tranquillity thus restored was, however, of short duration.

"The disturbance broke out again on Saturday, with increased violence, and the malecontents showed themselves in considerable force. Their whole number amounted to about 1500, divided in several parties, marching in several directions, for the purpose of attacking the houses of those persons who were obnoxious to them. At Brandon they destroyed several houses, including Mr. Willet's, the butcher; that they completely levelled to the ground. Another party of them proceeded to the village of Halesworth, it is supposed, for a like purpose; and the Sheriff of Suffolk, and Mr. Willet, the banker, saw on their way to London, about ten o'clock on Saturday night, a fire near Ely, which they apprehended was the mischievous work of another party of the rioters. They were armed with long heavy sticks, the ends of which, to the extent of several inches, were studded with short iron spikes, sharp at the sides and points. Their flag was inscribed, "*Bread or Blood!*" and they threatened to march to London. The Sheriff of Suffolk and Mr. Willet having laid this representation before the Secretary of State, received from him a promise of every possible protection, and with this assurance they left town last night on their return home. It appears, from the following extract from a *Norwich Paper*, that a similar spirit has displayed itself in that city:

"Late on Thursday evening a mischievous and riotous disposition manifested itself here amongst some of the lowest class, (chiefly youths,) who, about nine o'clock, assembled in the market-place, and first began to throw fire-balls about, which seemed to have been prepared for



the purpose. They afterwards broke the Hall windows, and those of several respectable individuals, and then proceeded to the new mills, breaking all the city lamps in their way. The people at the silk manufactory being at work, they attacked the windows; and on the lights being extinguished, some of the more audacious broke into the new mills, (the windows of which they had first broken,) and took thereout a quantity of flour, some of which they threw into the river, and some they carried away in the sacks. On their return from the mills they broke the lamps and windows of several Gentlemen's houses in St. Andrew's, Bank-street, Tombland, Magdalen-street, and other places, and proceeded to Dr. Alderson's house, who, on coming out to remonstrate with them on their highly improper conduct, was knocked down.

In consequence of these outrages the Mayor and Magistrates immediately assembled at the Hall, where they continued until a late hour, and the constables and several respectable persons, with staves and torches, proceeded to the mills, but the mob had dispersed. A picquet of the *West Norfolk Militia* was stationed before the Hall, and a party of the *first Royal Dragoons*, commanded by Capt. Phipps, and headed by a Magistrate, went down to Trowse Mills, where it had been reported a party had proceeded, but that happily was not the case; they then returned, and patroled the streets till morning. Every precaution will be taken to prevent a repetition of such violations of the public peace.

A public notice has just been issued by the Magistrates, that, on a repetition of such tumults, the Riot Act will be immediately read, when all persons offending will be liable to the penalty of death. On any appearance of riot, the respectable inhabitants are required immediately to assemble at the Hall, in the Market-place."

May 23.—In consequence of a cargo of potatoes being about to be shipped at the quay of *Bideford*, a great number of people collected, armed with bludgeons and other weapons, to prevent the exportation taking place. The police of the town apprehended three of the ringleaders, and confined them in the town prison. Immediately on the

event being known, an immense number of shipwrights and others beat off the police, broke down the prison doors, and released the prisoners. An express was sent off to the *North Devon Yeomanry*, who promptly assembled; the mob was immediately dispersed. The cavalry remained under arms, and patroled the town during the night. On Saturday morning several of the rioters were apprehended, and four of them sent off to Exeter, under an escort of the *North Devon Yeoman Cavalry*. They are now in the County prison. On information being given that a great number of disorderly people were collecting at Appledore and Clew-houses, the Cavalry proceeded to the latter, in order to secure about 30 or 40, who were arming themselves with various weapons. Immediately on the troops appearing, the offenders went on board a ship, which was surrounded with the tide, lowering down the boats, and went off to the Braunton side of the water, and made their escape. We are happy to say no lives have been lost. *Too much praise cannot be bestowed* on the *North Devon Yeomanry*, for their behaviour in quelling the mob in its infancy. On Saturday night every thing was perfectly tranquil. Soon after which 40 of the *Enniskillen Dragoons* arrived, and relieved the Yeomanry, who had been on duty during two nights.

On Saturday night last some person or persons opened a sliding casement, and entered the workshop of JOHN BEXON, (commonly called Sergeant BEXON,) framework-knitter, in the Rushes-street, Loughborough, and smashed to pieces the internal part of what is called a thirty plain guage frame, the property of Mr. NORTON of that town, framsmith. There were in the same shop, at the time, a frame belonging to Messrs. Paget and Sons, and two belonging to Messrs. Middleton and Hall, but not the least mischief was done to any of them. Why this injury has been done to Mr. NORTON seems a little mysterious, for he had nothing at all to do with the manner in which the frame was worked, as to the price, nature of the work, &c.; he was merely the owner of the frame, and is withal a person of quiet and inoffensive habits. And on Monday last, the shop of Thomas Marriott, framework-knitter, of Thorpe-

“acre, near Loughborough, was entered  
 “in a similar manner, through the win-  
 “dow, and a thirty-two plain guage  
 “frame, belonging to Mr. William White,  
 “of Loughborough, *in a great degree de-*  
 “*molished and carried away.* In this in-  
 “stance, as well as the former, there were  
 “three other frames in the shop, one be-  
 “longing to Mr. Marriott, another to his  
 “son-in-law, and the third to Mr. WAL-  
 “LIS, but they escaped being injured.—  
 “*Nottingham Paper.*”

May 23.—“We have great pleasure in  
 “communicating the termination of the  
 “disturbances at Brandon, in Suffolk.  
 “The inhabitants on Monday *guaranteed*  
 “*the price of flour at 2s. 6d. per stone,*  
 “*with an advance of wages to 2s. per*  
 “*head for a fortnight;* and unless the  
 “millers *reduce their prices* by that time,  
 “the *officers of the parish will purchase*  
 “*their grain at the cheapest rate,* and  
 “*furnish the poor with provisions at prime*  
 “*cost.* The rioters were *perfectly satis-*  
 “*fied,* and tranquillity was completely  
 “restored.

May 24 and 25, Downham, (Norfolk.)

“On Monday last, a great number of  
 “persons of the labouring class (owing  
 “to the late advance in corn and the  
 “lowness of wages) assembled at the vil-  
 “lage of Southrey, in Norfolk, and im-  
 “mediately proceeded for Downham, be-  
 “tween which places (about seven miles  
 “distance) they forced the labourers  
 “from their houses and work to join  
 “them, and every person they met was  
 “compelled to return with them. When  
 “arrived at the latter place, the number  
 “amounted to nearly 1500; they imme-  
 “diately commenced their scene of action  
 “by entering the shops of the millers and  
 “bakers, and taking away flour, bread,  
 “&c. At Mr. W. Baldwin’s mill, a  
 “great many sacks of wheat meal were  
 “thrown into the yard and spoiled.  
 “They then proceeded to the publicans,  
 “and demanded ale, which was brought  
 “in pails into the street; the rioters  
 “forced many of the inhabitants to drink  
 “with them. They then went to the  
 “Crown Inn, and drove the Magistrates  
 “(who were holding their weekly sitting)  
 “from the room into the street, and who  
 “with great difficulty succeeded in escap-  
 “ing. Afterwards they proceeded to  
 “the butchers, whose shops they cleared;  
 “during which time, the tradesmen in

“general were in a state of dreadful anx-  
 “iety, expecting the rioters would make  
 “an attack upon their premises; but  
 “they were prevented by the appearance  
 “of the *Upwell troop of cavalry*, when  
 “the Magistrates, escorted by the troop,  
 “read the Riot Act, and the greatest  
 “possible confusion ensued. *Several gen-*  
 “*tlemen narrowly escaped with life,* from  
 “*brick bats, stones, clubs, &c. that now*  
 “*flew in every direction.* With the aid  
 “of special constables, however, 10 men  
 “and four women were taken, and put  
 “into confinement, and the rest gradually  
 “dispersed. No lives were lost.

“Captain Lee (who commanded the  
 “troops) ordered the men to use the back  
 “of their swords, thereby preventing the  
 “carnage that must have otherwise en-  
 “sued.

“The following morning, Tuesday,  
 “brought greater terror to the inhabitants  
 “than the preceding day, as it was ge-  
 “nerally reported that the rioters were  
 “preparing to attack the town with re-  
 “doubled vigour; the Magistrates direct-  
 “ed the inhabitants to arm themselves  
 “with whatever could be procured, and  
 “*in a short time the town wore a very*  
 “*formidable appearance;* the inhabitants  
 “with the cavalry then proceeded to  
 “meet the rioters, who armed themselves  
 “with guns, pitchforks, clubs, and other  
 “weapons, ready for a general attack;  
 “*when an agreement was made by the*  
 “*Gentlemen to allow them an advance of*  
 “*wages, and to release those persons al-*  
 “*ready taken;* which induced them to  
 “return peaceably to their homes.

“The greatest praise is due to every  
 “individual of the troop for their exertions  
 “in the above cause.

“Last night, alarming advice was re-  
 “ceived at Lord Sidmouth’s office, of a  
 “desperate insurrection having broken  
 “out in the Isle of Ely: that an immense  
 “body of armed Fen-men had attacked  
 “the house of the *Rev. Mr. Vachel*,  
 “a *Magistrate*, resident at Littleport,  
 “which they destroyed, after despoiling  
 “it of its most valuable property, having  
 “brutally turned Mrs. Vachel and her  
 “daughters out of the house, to seek an  
 “asylum at twelve o’clock on Wednes-  
 “day night.”

“The Cambridge Paper, received this  
 “morning, says—“We are concerned to  
 “state, that there was an alarming riot at



"Ely yesterday, the particulars of which had not reached our office when this Paper was put to Press."

Chelmsford, May 23.

"On Monday morning an express arrived here, from the War-Office, directing the march of the 47th regiment, from the barracks of this town to Colchester, for which place they proceeded the following morning.

"On Tuesday last two squadrons of the First Dragoon Guards marched in to this town from Hounslow, on their route to Colchester.

"An honest, industrious, poor man's hovel was set on fire on Friday night last at Clare; but by the prompt exertions of the inhabitants, the villains were disappointed in their aim, and the fire got under without doing much damage."

"On the 22d instant, James Mays, the younger, of Stoke, near Clare, Suffolk, was brought before the Rev. B. B. Syer, of Ketton, Suffolk, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, charged with having threatened to set fire to a barn belonging to General Elwes, and having given surety for the peace as the law requires, was discharged. In consequence of the arrest of this offender, some of the misguided populace assembled, and proceeded to break up a threshing machine in the neighbourhood; but the General having, with a very laudable promptitude, procured the attendance of some military force, at the very crisis of the riot, the ringleaders were committed for the trial and punishment consequent on such illegal proceedings.

"On Sunday and Monday last, detachments of the 1st Royal Dragoons marched into Bury from Ipswich, part of whom will remain till further orders, and the others proceeded on their route to Brandon, where we understand some symptoms of disorder have manifested themselves; but the accounts given in several papers are greatly exaggerated."

Scotland.

"At Rutherglen May Fair, on Friday, there was some rioting, and fifteen young men from Glasgow were apprehended, thirteen of whom were, on the following day, convicted, fined, and imprisoned till the fines were paid."

Cambridge, May 24.

"Great alarm has been excited here by the appearance of numerous knots of strange countrymen, coming in with large sticks, for two or three days past. Our Mayor, Colonel Mortlock, apprehensive that this might have been preparatory to an intended entry of the Fen rioters, convened the Magistracy in the Town Hall this afternoon, who swore in three hundred of the principal inhabitants as special constables. The Vice Chancellor, and Heads of Houses, also assembled, and resolved to put arms into the hands of the Students of their respective Colleges, if found necessary."

"Sunday, Eleven o'clock, A. M.—Our alarm has considerably subsided, from intelligence just brought in from Ely, stating, that the main body of the Insurgents were attacked on Friday morning, (after the Riot Act had been read without effect,) and completely routed! Sir Henry B. Dudley and the Rev. H. Law, two Magistrates of the Island, arriving with Captain Wortham's troop of yeomanry early on Friday morning, and learning that the rioters had determined to set fire to Littleport that night, and the town of Ely on the night following, called out the small detachment of the 1st Dragoons, consisting of eighteen men, commanded by Captain Mathuen, and sending twenty-four of the disbanded Militia, who were armed from the country depot by Lieut. Woolert, pushed on to Littleport, where, taking the Insurgents by surprise, their defeat was speedy and complete. The savage rioters soon began to fire upon the Magistrates and the troops, from barricaded houses near the river, when the latter were ordered to fire into them. The conflict, though short, was sharp. The Insurgents soon began to fly from every part of the town over the Fens, and were pursued in every direction: only two of the rioters were killed (one of them a chief) and a few wounded: 104 were taken prisoners, and more are hourly bringing in; fortunately the soldiery had only two or three slightly wounded. The inhabitants of the county now began to stir in their own defence, and accompanied parties of the military to scour the district, and in consequence great quantities of wild-fowl swivels,

“and other guns, pikes, &c. have been brought in. The Magistrates speak in high commendation of the steady conduct of the three officers and soldiery on this service. Major General Sir John Byng, K. C. B., appointed to the command of this disturbed county, arrived a few hours after the affair: and a reinforcement, consisting of three troops of the 1st Royal Dragoons, three companies of the 69th regiment, and two pieces of flying artillery, were hourly expected at Ely, by forced marches.”

“A considerable inclination to riot has manifested itself for several days at Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, and had increased so much on Tuesday last, that it was judged prudent to call out the Huntingdon volunteer cavalry, who proceeded to Warboys immediately: but as their assistance did not appear absolutely necessary, they were desired to return to Huntingdon, where they remained under arms during the whole of Tuesday night, and tranquillity having been restored at Ramsey, the corps were dismissed on Wednesday evening.”

“Extract of a letter from Freshingfield, Essex, May 24:—“That spirit of insurrection which has broke out in Suffolk, has appeared in our parish. I have just returned from the place where the rioters have assembled to the amount of 200, armed with implements of agriculture as their weapons. Last night they destroyed Mr. John Smith’s threshing machine; this morning they visited Mr. Robert Smith’s farm, at Byton hall, and destroyed a plough on a new construction that did not please them. They then came to Bardfield, to destroy Mr. Messent’s machine, and were coming here to do the same; but the people of Bardfield surrounded the barn, and prevented their attacking it, while many of us tried to persuade them to go home again; and I am happy to say they have dispersed for the present; but we dread the night, lest they should proceed to further mischief.”

“Accounts received on Saturday from Manchester, state that some thousands of the lower orders of the people were assembling about twenty miles distant from Manchester. The intelligence was received in that town by express, from

“a Magistrate residing in the vicinity of the tumultuous assemblage. Advices of these new movements were immediately forwarded to Government. Saturday a considerable body of cavalry, with several pieces of artillery, passed through Tottenham, on their way to assist in quelling the disturbances.”

Ely, Wednesday Morning.

“Several of the riotous prisoners who had fled, have been brought in in the course of the last two days; three or four of them are delegates who had been active to raise the different parts of the Island, to join the Littleport body. Lord Francis Osborne, who has acted as Vice Lieutenant for Cambridgeshire, in the absence of the Earl of Hardwicke, joined the bench of Magistrates yesterday. The examinations are continuing. The following persons have been fully committed, as numbers of others will be, to be tried before a Special Commission, expected soon to issue, viz: John Dennis, Thomas Smith, —Joseph alias Little Easy, —Jessop, —Cheville, Robert Crab, —Jefferson, Robert Salmon, W. Bennis, jun. James Cambell, Richard Rutter, &c. &c. Seventy more persons remain in custody, charged with capital offences, and about 24 have been liberated on their recognisance, who appeared to have been pressed into this desperate service. The Magistrates, finding that they could now dispense with further military assistance, directed that the 1st Regiment of Dragoon guards, under Colonel Acam, should fall back to Cambridge, and that the Artillery should proceed to Newmarket. The long swivel pieces, wild fowl guns, and other arms, about 60 in number, which the rioters used, are now placing on the wall of the Military Depot. The detachment of the Royal Dragoons, and the Staff party of the Militia, have just been drawn up, and addressed by Sir Henry Bate Dudley, who informed them that he had great satisfaction in being enabled to convey to them the approbation of the Commander in Chief of the temperate and exemplary conduct which they manifested at Littleport, on Friday last, in aid of the Civil Authorities of the country, for the protection of the lives and properties of his Majesty’s subjects.”

“May 26. (Durham.)—Serious distur-



“ bances had broken out amongst the pit-  
 “ men and other workmen connected  
 “ with the collieries upon the Wear. Se-  
 “ veral hundreds of them went off work,  
 “ upon the ostensible ground of their  
 “ present wages being inadequate to their  
 “ support, while the price of bread corn  
 “ continues so very much higher than it  
 “ has been. But through the prompt and  
 “ vigorous exertions of the Magistrates,  
 “ aided by *two troops of cavalry* from  
 “ *Newcastle*, they have been induced to  
 “ return to their work. Eight of the  
 “ ringleaders were taken into custody on  
 “ Saturday, and committed to *Durham*  
 “ *gaol*. No disposition of joining them  
 “ was at any time evinced by the pitmen  
 “ upon the Tyne.

“ The report which prevailed, of a riot  
 “ having taken place at *Wisbeck Market*,  
 “ on Saturday last, is unfounded. Some  
 “ apprehensions of disturbances were en-  
 “ tertained; but, by the prudent precau-  
 “ tions of the Magistrates, who appointed  
 “ a considerable number of special consta-  
 “ bles, and called in the aid of some neigh-  
 “ bouring volunteer yeomanry cavalry,  
 “ the peace of the town was preserved.”

Thus have I given you a *specimen* of  
 what is going on in *England*, as I, some  
 time back, gave you a specimen of what  
 was going on in *Ireland*. Happy America!  
 Happy country, where misery collects no  
 mobs! Happy Republicans, who stand in  
 no need of Yeomanry Cavalry, Dragoon  
 Guards, or Parson Bate, to keep you in or-  
 der! Happy people, though your Govern-  
 ment did arise out of a “ successful Demo-  
 cratic Rebellion,” as our vile prints called  
 it, when they expected to see you reduced  
 to our state.

You cannot have failed to remark, that,  
 upon all occasions, *troops* of some sort or  
 other were the sole *reliance*. The Sheriff  
 of Suffolk, instead of calling forth the  
 power of the county, of which he is the  
 chief peace officer, and where *all* are bound  
 to obey him in order to preserve the  
 peace: instead of using his own great and  
 complete authority, *flees out of the county*,  
 and tells his tale to the *Secretary of State*!  
 From *Devonshire* to *Scotland*, you see,  
 that discontents prevail, and that risings  
 have taken place, and, everywhere you  
 see *troops called out*. It is not a little  
 curious too to perceive that the most  
 active of the Magistrates are *Parsons* with  
 the *Rev. Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Baronet*,

at their head, certainly a very *worthy*  
 head. A more fit head could not have  
 been chosen. I expect to see him Arch-  
 bishop of Canterbury yet; or, at least, I  
 should expect it, if the Right Reverend  
 personage, who so worthily fills that Chair,  
 were not much younger than the *Rev.*  
*Sir Bate*.

The truth is, these rascally Parsons,  
 some of the worst of their cloth, are the  
 only people to perform such offices. *Gentle-*  
*men* in the country have long been  
 ashamed to act as justices of the Peace,  
 there being so many cruel and infamous  
 acts for them now to execute. This Bate  
 Dudley is a man of courage, though old,  
 and very fit to command soldiers to shoot  
 at the people. You will wonder how the  
 soldiers can be made to shoot at their  
 countrymen, and, in many cases, their  
 friends. But, a hired, flogged soldier,  
 under such a government, and under offi-  
 cers who think of nothing but living at  
 ease on the people's labour, are senseless,  
 unfeeling brutes. The officers well know,  
 that they are paid out of the taxes. Their  
 fate (and there are 20,000 officers on full  
 and half pay) depends wholly on the  
 ability of the government to collect taxes.  
 The government makes a bargain with  
 150,000 men, in red coats, to give them  
 a share of the plunder, called revenue,  
 on condition, that the former will, if or-  
 dered, shoot or stab the people to make  
 them pay the taxes. The army being  
 thus composed, and having this great mo-  
 tive, who is fool enough to expect, that  
 they will not kill the people, when com-  
 manded to do it? Yet, if the risings were  
 to become more numerous, it would puzzle  
 the tyrants to keep them in check; and,  
 indeed, it could not have been done *now*,  
 had it not been for the Yeomanry Caval-  
 ry, which consists of the large farmers  
 and their sons, who have a sort of boon  
 given them in an exemption from the  
 horse-tax. These corps exist all over the  
 kingdom, and, generally speaking, a set  
 of very insolent and unfeeling brutes are  
 the persons who belong to them. So that  
 here is one part of the community set to  
 fight the other part, and, between them,  
 the despotism itself escapes.

The despotism is, however, in great  
 trouble. And well it may; for shooting  
 the people will not keep up the revenue;  
 and, besides, if any serious alarm take  
 place with regard to the funds, half Lon-

don will be in a state of starvation. If that body of *half a million* of working people and their families are once put into a state of distress, equal to that of the country people at this moment, there will be a speedy end to the tyranny, the head of which being lopped off, the members will instantly cease to move. The risings in the country are partial. It is difficult to collect any considerable body of people. Troops, from all quarters, fly instantly to the spot. But in London, a hundred thousand hard-fisted men are assembled in an hour. They would not fall upon butchers, bakers, and millers. They would seize the *cause* by the neck, and twist its head off. There only wants, therefore, deep distress amongst the working people in London; and this distress must come, the moment a failure to pay the dividends on the Debt takes place. In case of *such* a rising, no military would have any effect. That sink of corruption, St. Stephen's Chapel, would be demolished in ten minutes. To destroy the whole thing, root and branch, would not take a day. The government is fully sensible of this; it is quite satisfied, that the end of the funding system will be *its end*; it can put down partial risings even in London; but, with a hundred great fires blazing all at once, it knows well that all that it would be able to do would be to flee. At this moment, there is some danger. The poverty of the country gentlemen has prevented hundreds from coming to London; thousands who used to spend great sums in London, are gone to the Continent; many thousands of houses stand empty; long rows of new buildings remain unfinished. But, if there were a stoppage of the interest of the Debt, or of any considerable part of it, all would be misery and uproar in London. Parliament House, Palaces, Bank, and all would disappear in twenty-four hours.

When one reflects on the terrible sufferings of individuals, that would take place, before the multitude could be made to listen to reason, one trembles at the thought. But *whose is the fault*? Why does not the tyranny give way in time? Why does it persevere in rendering the people miserable? Why has it gone on to create *two millions of paupers*, who must wish for a change of any sort? Why does it brave the people by its army of 150 thousand men? Why is a cool, cruel,

insolent fellow like Castlereagh (hated by every living thing) put at the head of the government? It is easy to talk of Special Commissions to hang the poor wretches who have been committing outrages; it is easy to talk of their violations of the law; but, why, then, not punish the ruffians, who have been detected in robbing the public; who have, like Melville and Pitt, been *proved* to have embezzled the people's money; who, like Castlereagh, Perceval, and H. Wellesley, have been *proved* to have *sold seats* and *contracted for votes*, in parliament; who, like the whole band of Boroughmongers, have notoriously usurped the people's rights, and have squandered their money and wasted their blood for the purpose of preventing the example of France from putting an end to that infamous usurpation; who now pay with English money the price of keeping on foot political tyranny and religious persecution on the Continent of Europe; and who made use of the same sort of means with the hope of destroying liberty in America? Is there no punishment, no hulk, no Botany Bay, no gallows, for these monstrous offenders? They may yet see, those of them that are left alive, a "*Special Commission*" sitting on *them*. They may yet have to implore, on their knees, that mercy, which they have refused to others. They may yet have to wander the earth, and to beg their bread. As long as they can collect taxes to pay a great army, 200,000 taxgatherers, and other persons in their employ, and to pay the dividends on the Debt in full, they may set the calls of mercy and justice at defiance; but, when they are no longer able to do this, their hour will be at hand, and the world will be freed from the most dreadful scourge that ever afflicted it. It has been the constant object of the Reformers to prevent a violent and bloody revolution. The consequences, therefore, will rest exclusively on the heads of the Boroughmongers.

In the mean while, however, it becomes *you* to bid your Cossacks look well at *what is going on here*. It becomes *you* to ask them whether they would wish to see their country in the same state; and to ask them, whether they think, that their processions and thanksgivings were not rather premature. It is *now*, too, that the partisans of enormous public Debts ought to be questioned as to the wisdom of imi-



tating our example in this respect. We now *see* and *feel* the consequences of the war and its debt. The Special Commission in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk will soon exhibit some of these consequences in a striking point of view.

The fact is singular enough, that, at one and the same time, the House of Bourbon and the House of Brunswick are issuing *Proclamations* for the suppression of *disturbances*. The immediate causes of those disturbances are different in the two countries; but the *primary* cause is the same. The *war*; the war, which placed the Bourbons again on the throne of France. This is the cause of the insurrections in France, and of the risings in England, which latter are, by our newspapers, called insurrections too. The war has put down liberty on the Continent; it has prevented Reform in England; but, it has created a million and a half of paupers in England; and it has thrown property into such confusion, and caused such general distress and suffering, that the system is, by its own measures, shaken to the very foundation. There are as many projects and opinions, as to what *ought* to be done, as there are leaves upon a full-grown birch tree; the opinions as to what *will* take place, are also various; but, all men of all parties, be their wishes what they may, agree, that a *great change of some sort* must soon arrive. So far from having produced lasting tranquillity, the war has put tranquillity wholly out of the question as far as this country is concerned. It is impossible to collect the means of *paying the interest of the cost of the war*, and of keeping up a force such as we are told the state of the country requires, without producing *general misery*. This misery necessarily produces violences; and thus has the war, which was, by its success, to give us uninterrupted tranquillity, given us lasting disorder.

Some weeks back, I observed, that it was impossible for things long to go on quietly as they were then going on. I said, that millions of people could not starve; that it was impossible for things to go on till the highways were strewed with dead bodies; that all the people could not become paupers; that things *must change* as necessarily as putrid matter returns again to animation. It appears, that, in many places, the farmers, tradesmen, and others, have assuaged the multitude by a-

*greeing to raise the wages of labour*. In some places a sort of suspension of hostilities has been thus effected. But, at *Ely* (a place which I and my family shall always remember!) the fight seems to have been quite a regular thing. The "*conflict was sharp*:" the enemy fired at the Magistrates and Troops; the latter returned the fire; the insurgents soon began to fly in every direction, with loss in *killed, wounded, and prisoners*, the latter *a hundred and four* in number, with more "*hourly bringing in*;" while, on the side of the Magistrates, the loss was only two or three *slightly wounded*. Parties of Troops were, when last heard of, "*scouring the district*," and had "*brought in*" great quantities of wild-fowl swivels, guns, pikes, &c.; and more troops, and "*two pieces of flying artillery*," were hastening to the scene of action. After the battle, the Rev. Sir Bate, we are told, *thanked the Troops* in the name of the *Commander in Chief*! Why, this is really an *achievement*. The victory of Sir Bate seems to have been nearly as wonderful as that of your brave and enlightened General Jackson over our Generals Pakenham and Gibbs, at New Orleans. The enemy at Ely fled to the Fens; in your case, he fled to the sea. A *monument* has been voted to record the fame of General Pakenham. And, surely Sir Bate will have some mark of honour conferred on him.

It may be proper to call the offending persons "*insurgents, savages, villains, monsters, &c.*" as the Courier newspaper does. But, then, there are great numbers of *Englishmen* who are insurgents, savages, villains, and monsters. There is no getting out of this dilemma. The fact is, they are people in *want*. They are people who have *nothing to lose*, except their lives; and of these they think little, seeing that they have so little enjoyment of them. *Naturally* they are no more savages, villains, and monsters than your country people and other working people are. There are never any mobs about *prices* in your country. The market people are never attacked there. A woman, a girl, a boy, or any weak old man, sets off in the evening, and travels *all night*, with a cart, or on horseback, with meat, butter, eggs, &c. from all parts of the country, to arrive at Philadelphia market at break of day. Thousands of persons do this in the course of every year; and I never heard of any

one being robbed on the way. Now, I will venture to say, that if a woman, so laden, was to attempt, in like manner, to travel to any town in England, during the night, she would never arrive safe at the end of thirty miles; and, that, if she had as many lives as a cat, she would lose them before she would, by night (and her route being previously well known) carry her money home.

Am I to allow, think you, that it is in the *nature* of Englishmen to rob and murder? If I were base or foolish enough to commit this act of injustice, I should be confuted in a minute by any one who chose to remind me, that your country was chiefly settled by Englishmen; that, as your *names* prove, the far greater part of you are of English descent; and that no very trifling part of your people were actually born in England. What, then, can be the cause of a difference so disgraceful to us? I am sure, that none of our Priests, regular or irregular, will allow, that you have better religion than we have. Indeed you cannot, seeing that we have religion of *all* the sorts that ever were heard of in the world. The cause *must*, therefore, be *the difference in the government*; and, I defy any Cossack, though he should have sworn to do all in his power to exterminate freedom, to show that the difference in this part of the character of the two nations is to be ascribed to *any other cause*.

To plunder a market cart would, in America, hardly *pay*. It would hardly yield enough to compensate the robber for his loss of *time*, leaving the risk of punishment wholly out of the question. Besides, what is he *to do* with the plunder? He cannot eat it while it is wholesome, and he has already plenty of food in his house. It is *want*; it is *sheer hunger*; this is what fills a country with robbers, and also with murderers, seeing that murder is frequently necessary to the perfecting of robbery. When pressing want has led the way, then, indeed, the robber proceeds to the gratification of imaginary

wants. When once hunger has given him an introduction, his mind becomes familiar with crimes.

Whatever, therefore, has a tendency to create want in a great part of a people must have a tendency to create crimes, especially those of robbery and murder. The present riots have clearly arisen out of want; out of the want of food, which will make even dumb animals break down or leap over fences. *Give us food!* is the cry. "*Bread or Blood*" was, it seems, the Motto on the flags in Suffolk; and, if Messrs. BROUGHAM, MACKINTOSH, and HORNER, and their "School Committee," were to call all their brethren of the Edinburgh Bar to their assistance, they would not, I believe, be able to compose a phrase so completely to the purpose. It is not "*Books or Blood*." Here is no outcry for books. 'Tis *food* they want; and I know from my own observation, and have a hundred times stated the fact, that, even before this terrible distress came upon us, the labouring people had not *half a sufficiency* of food.

*Why* it is so; *why* the poor creatures thus suffer, I have, many times over, fully explained; and, judge you, then, what sense there is in supposing, that the evils of the country, that the weight of the poor-rates, and the thievishness of the poor, are to be removed by teaching the poor children to *write* and *read*! It would be, to the full, as reasonable to expect, that the miseries and cries, now prevalent, would be removed by that other famous Edinburgh scheme of making a total revolution in our *weights and measures*. I wish these Northern Gentlemen, instead of spending their time in contrivances for *enlightening the English*, would apply a little of it in endeavouring to prevail upon their own country to pay something like its share of the taxes. I wish they would so manage things, that, before they come to teach us "*industrious habits*," their own country should cease to burden *us* with the expense of



making its highways and canals. Before they come to teach the English "*steady habits*," I wish they would teach their own country to pay its *own sheriffs of counties*, as we pay ours, (or rather, ours want *no pay*,) and not throw the burden upon us *lazy people*. To hold up Scotland as an object of *our imitation* is to be impudent to a degree worthy of blows. What instances of *liberality* have ever been seen there? Look at the *tax book* and the *office and pension list*, and you will soon see, that Scotland devours, in *places and pensions*, including *offices*, *more than she pays* in taxes. Only think of the impudence of affecting to consider us as in need of the *example* of Scotch *industry* and sobriety, while they actually come to us to build their bridges, and to make their roads and canals! And *for what*? What is the pretence? Why, in order to *give employment to the Scotch poor*, to *prevent them from emigrating to America*! What an injustice is this to England! What a folly, to be sure, altogether; but, above all, what impudence it is in these Edinburgh empirics to affect to regard the English as a people behind them in science and morals! Nevertheless, these forward pretenders, who thrust their noses everywhere, do get on with their projects, in general, far enough, at least, to fill their own pockets pretty well. A state of things is come now, however, in which their impudence will avail them little. They may work on with their School Project; but, unless they can keep up the amount of the taxes, their school project will be of no more use than the barbarous *kelts* of their countrymen were at the battle of Alexandria, where they pretended to take, and claimed the honour of taking, a standard, which was afterwards *proved* to have been taken by a *Frenchman*; in our service.

You, in America, will say, "what is all this to us?" It is a good deal to you, if you wish to be informed truly as to what is going on here. Have you any conception of any foolery, any impudence (for I do not know which to call it) equal

to that of a society, formed in London, the avowed object of which is to *preserve the Gaelic Language* and the *manners of the Highlanders*? They have chosen the Prince Regent one of their members, and have actually addressed him in person, *in that barbarous dialect*! God preserve us! I hope they are not going to compel us all to talk the Scottish tongue and to wear *kelts*! The Prince is to be their President; and, thus, he is to become the patron of schools wherein to teach the *Gaelic Tongue*, or, rather, *braying*. Who, but such people as these, would have thought of teaching that, which all men of sense are glad to see nearly out of use? What would you think of a project for teaching the English the orthography of Chaucer, or the brogue of Lancashire?

The truth appears to be, that there is a desire to prevent the old *clanship* and feudal slavery from being worn away. It is pretended, that the Highlands produce "a *warlike* race, useful to the nation." But, it is a notion contradicted by experience as well as by reason, that men in savage life make the best soldiers. Savages may suit the purposes of a government, whose mode of warfare is savage; but, the lazy, filthy savage is far from being *so good a soldier* as the man who has been reared up in civilized society.

But this Highland scheme is really intended to keep the Highlanders distinct from the Lowlanders of Scotland, where there are *sense*, and *light*, and knowledge of what the government is doing. The Highlands yield bands of barbarians, under the control of petty chiefs, who are again under that of the Great Nobles, who are in the pay of the government, and are, at the same time, Boroughmongers. These barbarous people are easily collected and enrolled. To have their *fill*, even of oatmeal, is temptation enough to induce them to quit their homes; and it is, to the tyranny, a great object to keep them in a state of ignorance; in effecting which, nothing is so likely to succeed as the preserving of their dialect to the exclusion of

the general language of the kingdom. While this can be done, no fear is there of their being enlightened by the *press*; for, who will write politics in the "*Gaelic Tongue*?" *Foolish*, therefore, as the proceedings of this society appear; *ridiculous* as seems the farce of their going to the court in the beastly Highland dress; the scheme is not a thing to be *laughed* at. It is intended for the purpose of assisting to preserve the tyranny, which thus sets deliberately to work to keep light out of the Highlands, and to keep up a race fit to execute any of its bloody commands. And, this is done, too, under the specious pretence of serving the cause of *morality* and *religion*!

Pleased as the friends of freedom must be, to see the tyranny reduced to the necessity of resorting to such tricks, the tricks themselves are to be *guarded against*; for even the tricks of such an old, long-established system have an influence hardly to be estimated. It is in this view of the matter, that I am disposed to keep your attention fixed on the influence that is attempted to be kept up, *all over the world*, by the means of the *Bible Societies*. Be assured, that this is a scheme of the order of *Jesuits*. But, another occasion will offer for the exposure of it.

It is curious to observe the *ferment* in which the world is. Alexander is proclaiming at Petersburg in support of the *Christian Religion*; just as if that were *not safe*. Our Regent is proclaiming about the risings in England. In France Louis is proclaiming against plots and conspiracies. They have begun again to murder the Protestants in the South of France, just at the time that Alexander is proclaiming. In Barbadoes the Negroes are burning plantations. At *Honiton*, in Devonshire, the people have just begun to burn bakers' shops, as the newspapers of yesterday tell me. Ireland is in a state, for the greater part, of *permanent proclamation*. And, 300 Swiss and 400 Wurtembergers are at Amsterdam, ready to set sail for the United States of America,

notwithstanding Parson Bate's newspaper, some time ago, expressed its *sweet satisfaction*, that our war against the United States had *cost them 14 millions*! This is the *end* of all their measures. They may do what they please, or what they *can*. America is open at last: unless she can be *cajoled* (for she is not to be *forced*) into a state of slavery, the cause of freedom must yet triumph. *Seven hundred people*, who wish to avoid the oppressions of Europe, all ready to embark at once! Only let the thing go on thus for a few years, and despotism will easily be set at defiance.

The subject of *Emigration* is becoming, every day, more and more important. There is now really an *alarm* felt on this account. It is not the *miserable* only that are in motion. I hear of most reputable and most valuable men, who are *selling off* in order to go to America. Indeed, I *know* the fact. But, lest your Cossacks should think that I exaggerate, I will quote our London papers upon the subject; and, when I have so done, I will add some particulars, which have come within my own knowledge:—"Some time ago," says the *Morning Chronicle*, "it was a favourite sentiment among the race of contractors "at the Pitt Club, 'May they who do not "like the country, leave it.' This was "applauded as a most patriotic toast. It "appears that the success of the Pitt principles has brought the country to that "unfortunate condition, that even those "who love it are forced to quit it. *Never, "in the memory of man, was there any "thing known like the emigration now taking place.* The door of the French Minister, nay, the street in which he lives, is crowded with persons applying for passports. Thousands have been issued; and those not to needy persons, but to families of large fortunes, to landed proprietors, to fund-holders, to manufacturers, and artisans of eminence; and men at the head of establishments, who are seriously contemplating the removal of their arts and their machines, to pla-



"ces less burthened by taxation. The  
 "extent of this evil will speedily be felt,  
 "in diminished consumption; in the num-  
 "ber of persons thrown out of employ;  
 "and in the deficit of Revenue. The  
 "River Thames presents a most dreary  
 "aspect. There are not fifty foreign sail  
 "to be seen in it; and the London docks,  
 "which used to require 1500 *hands*, do  
 "not now employ 500. With an ac-  
 "knowledgeed deficiency of 17,000,000*l.*  
 "per annum, we hear of these emigrations,  
 "that will not cost the nation less than  
 "ten or twelve millions per annum; and  
 "the sum spent by Englishmen abroad  
 "will act as a subsidy to our neighbours,  
 "and will be felt as such in the balance of  
 "trade, thereby raising the exchange  
 "against us. It is little consolation to us  
 "to know that the persons thus emigra-  
 "ting from motives of economy, will  
 "be *deceived*; that they will find the ex-  
 "penses greater than they think of; and  
 "that they might practise retrenchments  
 "much *more certainly at home*. All this  
 "affords little consolation to the trades-  
 "men, who will lose their custom; to the  
 "housekeepers, who will be burthened  
 "with increased poor-rates, to support  
 "the unfortunate dependants who will be  
 "deprived of bread; and to the govern-  
 "ment, that will suffer a *lamentable falling*  
 "*off in the taxes*. And surely it is a cir-  
 "cumstance to which Parliament ought,  
 "*before they separate, to turn their most*  
 "*serious attention*. We are on the brink  
 "of a precipice; and nothing but a *strong*  
 "and *decisive measure of national re-*  
 "*trenchment* will save us from a calamity  
 "which is frightful to contemplate. This  
 "is no time for the filling up of useless  
 "places with the *sons of Dukes*, who,  
 "either as principals or as *collaterals*,  
 "have been the *dupes of Gamblers or of*  
 "*money-lenders*. There must be an end  
 "not merely of corruption but of extrava-  
 "gance. And as we find from daily ex-  
 "perience, that the Volunteer Yeomanry  
 "at 4*l.* per head per annum, are as effec-  
 "tual in keeping the peace of the country

"as the Dragoon Guards at 150*l.* per head  
 "per annum, we must reduce our army,  
 "unless it is actually thought *that a na-*  
 "*tional Bankruptcy would not be a nation-*  
 "*al evil*."

This writer, you will observe, wishes to  
 save himself with his shop-keeping readers  
 by observing, that emigrants to the conti-  
 nent will be *disappointed*. He knows  
 better. He knows, that they will avoid  
 paying their share of our enormous taxes,  
 which take away more, perhaps, than  
 three fourths of every man's income, who  
 has no profitable *trade or calling* to carry  
 on. The persons who migrate thus, know  
 very well what they are at; and, unless  
 some vigorous measure of prevention be  
 adopted, their numbers will continue to in-  
 crease.

But, the serious part of the business is,  
 the emigrations from *England to America*!  
 This is what will strike a forked sting  
 into the heart of the System. It is very  
 true, as the Morning Chronicle now ob-  
 serves, and as I observed in my fifth letter  
 to you, dated on the 23d March; it is  
 very true, that the *Pitt Gang* have, for  
 years past, given as a toast, the expression  
 of their wish, that those who did *not like*  
*the country* should *leave it*. These inso-  
 lent men, who, by *country*, meant *corrup-*  
*tion and taxation*, have lived to see their  
 pretended wish fulfilled. The attempt to  
 strangle the power of America in the  
 cradle has had a wonderful effect in exalt-  
 ing her character. It has given rise to  
*discussions* about that country, and out of  
 discussions come *knowledge*. It has been  
 in vain, that the hired part of the press  
 has laboured to give a check to this emi-  
 gration.

People have seen, that the facts which  
 I have stated cannot be contradicted.  
 The whole nation knows, that a day la-  
 bouring man in America can, if he will,  
*earn the price of half a bushel of flour*  
*in a day*; and, there are now very few  
 persons who do not know, that it is taxes  
 which make paupers. To men who  
 have worked hard all their lives, and have

just obtained what they deemed sufficient to set their children forward in the world, the change of the *times* has given a serious shock. They see clearly, that the burdens of taxation never can be lightened, unless the funding system be *blown up*, and, of the consequences of that they are *afraid*. To lose their all through the taxes, or through popular tumult, seems to such persons the alternative, if they remain in England; and, therefore, they turn their thoughts towards America, the Continent of Europe being suited to none but lazy slaves.

A few days ago, four men, the eldest of whom was not, he said, twenty-one, came to me to offer their services to go to *America*. They came out of a village at about four miles distance, called *North Stoneham*, and said, they had been told, that I wanted labourers to go to America, upon condition of having *three years service* as the repayment of passage money out. These terms they were anxious to agree to, and they appeared to be exceedingly mortified, when they learnt, that I was no "*American Planter*," as they had imagined; that I had the honour to have been born almost under the shade of the same trees with themselves; and that I did not want any body to go out to America. Thousands upon thousands of this description of persons seek occasions to get across the Atlantic. I wonder for my part how the *enticement* has spread in the manner that it has! How the knowledge of the milk and honey has got into obscure villages. The Register is not, to be sure, less *read* than it was before Sir Vicary Gibbs made his grand assault upon it; but very few villages know any thing of the Register. Yet, the glad tidings have not been circulated through any other printing channel.

Be the channel of information what it may, it is certain, that there never was any thing more talked of and thought of than emigration to America now is. The dismal part of the story, however, is, that many hundreds of families of property,

of great respectability, distinguished for their industry and knowledge of business as *farmers*, are selling off and preparing to depart. The *hive* is all in commotion. The *Bees* seem resolved no longer to support the *Drones* and the *Wasps*. The former, unable to resist the demands and the stings of the latter, appear determined to quit the hive, to seek new scenes for their industry, and a safe place of deposit for their honey; and those who have insolently bid the discontented to leave the country, stand a pretty fair chance of *working for themselves*, or being starved. However, we shall have all the Knights, and the Parsons, and Vicars, and Curates, and all the Gentlemen in Red and in Blue, with swords and helmets, and all the Place-men, Pensioners, Contractors, and Taxgatherers, and Paupers. We shall have all these left behind; and a very respectable population will they form. The worst of it is, that there will be so few of us left to work for them, that they will be compelled, I am afraid, to labour themselves.

The reader will hardly believe me; but, *since the last paragraph was written*, a young man, whom I never heard talk about going to America, has called upon me, and actually taken his leave of me on his departure for that country. I asked him what had decided him at once. He answered, that he was resolved to spend no more of his life in working for the Roses, the Huskissons, the Cannings, the Longs, and the *double Lady Louisas*; that the Giffords, and Greens, and D'Ivernois, and Mallet du Pans should no longer sit astride upon his shoulders. I told him that it was not very polite to *name* a lady upon such an occasion; and that, as to Gifford, the Quarterly Reviewer, I had him astride upon *my* shoulders. He found out others; said he should have no such people to support in America; and, accordingly, not half an hour ago, I shook hands with him, and wished him a good voyage!

Many men have recently returned from



America to fetch their relations. A labouring man came to Portsmouth, a few days ago, from the United States, for the purpose, not of taking out his wife and children, (for they went with him,) but his *father and mother*! This man has come and found Portsmouth and Gosport in the depth of misery. There is not employment for a fourth part of the labourers. In such a state of things men will want only the means of getting to America to induce them to quit England. The man here mentioned was not of the description of those who, as the Morning Chronicle stated, the other day, went off and basely left their wives and children to be maintained by the parish. This man had got his wife and children with him; but, he could not enjoy the good fortune he had met with, until his father and mother were there to enjoy it too. Indeed, I do not *believe* the story of the Morning Chronicle in the way it is intended to be believed. *Some men may*, and, I dare say, do leave their families behind in distress. How is a poor labourer to avoid this? His family is *always* in distress. He *never has any money*. How is he to pay for his own *passage*, much more for four or five persons. He must, therefore, either remain and be eaten up by the leprosy, or some other disorder engendered by poor living; he must remain and see a swarm of ragged and filthy creatures rise up about him; or, he must set off and earn some money to pay for a passage for his wife and children. And, what does he do more than the *Soldier* is encouraged to do, and really receives a *bounty* out of the taxes for doing? The soldier is set free from all his engagements with master, parish, children, and even wife (as far as cohabiting and maintenance go;) and, if it be said, without a laugh, that the hero is inspired with a zeal for his country, I have only to answer, that he, in that case, would need no *bounty money* to induce him to enter the service.

In short, every man has a right to endeavour to mend his lot, and especially in a case where the people have been so insultingly told to leave the country, if they did not *like it*; that is to say, if they did not like to work to earn money for the Roses, and Cannings, and the double Lady Louisas. Verity this insolence seems to be upon the eve of receiving its

appropriate reward. It is not the loss of a *man* that England experiences in the emigration of an Englishman to America; it is the loss of a *picked man*, a man of health, strength, sound constitution, able to work in his vocation, full of confidence in himself, and also with some enterprise and personal courage. This man is worth, on an average, four of those that he leaves behind him. And, that is not all; the loss of *four* men is not all; it is the loss of *eight* in point of relative force, seeing that the four are transferred to America, whom the friends of the System of Corruption regard and describe as their "*natural enemy*," and of whom they are every day endeavouring, but in vain, to make us *afraid*. Faith! they will never again make us believe, that the power of America is dangerous to *US*! It is surprising how much the eyes of the people have been opened upon that subject within these six or seven months. Those eyes are now directed across the Atlantic, seeing that *there* is the last hope of the oppressed and the miserable.

Having mentioned the *double Lady Louisas*, I will tell the story of one of them. Amongst the pensions, paid out of the taxes, is one to *Lady Louisa Paget* of 300*l.* a year. This Lady is a daughter of the late Earl of Uxbridge, whose estate yielded him sixty thousand pounds a year! It was base enough in such a man to ask a pension for his daughter at all, but, the motive, in this case, was a thousand times more base: it was, that she might have a *fortune in marriage*; and this was actually the *dower* given with her to her husband, *Sir William Erskine*, the son of the old grasping Quartermaster General in America, during the first American war, which yielded this crafty man an immense fortune, to which, in 1791, was added the hereditary title of Baronet, though he had sprung from the dirt, and had worked along through filth all his lifetime. For the son of such a man to be permitted to marry the daughter of a proud English Earl was thought scandalous; but, to saddle the people with the payment of the dower was certainly more scandalous. However, this was not all, for, soon after the marriage, another pension, under the name of *Erskine*, upon another list, (there being several lists,) was again given the lady to the same amount. So that she now gets *six hundred pounds a year*, while her bro-

ther, who is now *Marquis of Anglesea*, having succeeded his father, and been advanced in the peerage, has nearer 80 than 60 thousand pounds a year fortune of his own; or, at least, he *had* before these times of distress came. Yet, perhaps, even this is not so irritating to the people as the conduct of the late *Duke of Beaufort*, who died a few years ago, and who left in his will certain annual sums to all his younger sons, to be paid them, *until they should obtain places or pensions to a certain amount under the government*, and then these annual sums were to revert to another quarter. This fact is so well known, that an extract from the will, at Doctor's Commons, was taken and published. Not content with robbing the people all his lifetime, this greedy old Boroughmonger must rob the people by his last will and testament! It has been thought impossible for a man to possess his treasures after death; but, really, this is very much like it. It is really committing a robbery after death.

Now, let me ask any man who dares answer openly, whether it be just that any people on earth should be made to submit to such treatment as this? Let me ask my old *English* friends, in America, whether they think, that this is *England* that I am talking of; whether it be *that* England, for which they and I used so boldly to stand up? Let me ask them, whether they wish people to remain here and labour like cattle for Lady Louisa Paget, and the dissolute sons of the late Duke of Beaufort? If my old friends will insist upon it, that we ought thus to work for those people, they may be reasonably asked, why they themselves have gone away, and why they do not now return to help us to work for these Ladies and Lords?

Yes, my old *English* friends in America, you who used to join with me in saying, that all who were discontented here, were rebels, you must now, with me, upon experience, change your tone, and allow, that a man may love his country very well indeed, without liking to work to earn money to pay the amount of the sinecures

of William Gifford and that of Lady Louisa's Pensions. At any rate, my good friends, *you* can blame nobody for leaving these things to be paid by others, seeing that you yourselves have so left them. If, indeed, you are willing to *contribute* towards the support of the gentry, who eat taxes in England, and will actually send over your share of the expense according to your several capacities; if you are willing to send us over about *fifteen shillings in the pound on your rents for your share of poor rates*; if you, when you rent a house for a *hundred dollars*, will send us over *seventy-five* dollars towards keeping our poor; if you will only do this to *begin* with; if you will only share with us in this land of taxation, we will then allow you to find fault with us for being *discontented*. But, while you take care to keep on the right side of the water, and will contribute nothing towards our burdens, and yet reproach us with a want of love of country, because we complain of those burdens, we shall, to speak in the mildest terms, think your conduct very inconsistent and very unjust.

At any rate, *you* will, I am sure, be ashamed to pretend to censure your countrymen for *seeking to better their lot in America*, seeing that you yourselves did the same, and that, too, at a time, when England was a Paradise, compared to what it is now. The sinews of the country are really passing away from it. It is impossible to prevent this. There is a great talk of *laws* to put a stop to it. But, laws will come too late. Men will go as long as the *sea is open*. To keep them here, in the present and approaching state of the country, there must be a wall built all round the coast as high as the tops of the loftiest oaks. To put a stop to emigration, the way is to reduce the taxes, so that those who labour will have enough left to enable them to live comfortably. Nothing but this will do. Nothing but this can do; and, in one way or another, this must and will be done at no very distant day. This country can never, I hope, dwindle down into a state of *insignificance*.

WM. COBBETT.

COPY RIGHT SECURED ACCORDING TO LAW.

Published by H. Cobbett and G. S. Oldfield, at No. 19 Wall-Street, New-York.